

Message Text

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ACTION EUR-08

INFO OCT-01 SS-14 ISO-00 EURE-00 NSC-05 NSCE-00 INR-05

CIAE-00 SP-02 L-01 CU-02 PRS-01 /039 W

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P R 171413Z FEB 76

FM AMEMBASSY BONN

TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 6502

INFO AMEMBASSY WARSAW

AMEMBASSY MOSCOW

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 01 OF 02 BONN 02601

LIMDIS

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PFOR PL GW

SUBJECT: POLISH/GERMAN AGREEMENTS

REFS: (A) WARSAW 843; (B) BONN 02526; (C) STATE 30649

BEGIN SUMMARY. THE POLITICAL SITUATION IN THE FRG ARGUES AGAINST OUR EXTENSIVE INTERVENTION TO BRING ABOUT CDU/CSU SUPPORT FOR THE POLISH AGREEMENTS. HOWEVER, IF A LOW-KEY APPROACH IS DECIDED UPON, THE FEBRUARY 20 MEETING OF CDU/CSU CHANCELLOR CANDIDATE KOHL AND COUNSELOR SONNENFELDT WOULD PROVIDE AN OPPORTUNITY TO DO SO. END SUMMARY.

1. THERE ARE, OF COURSE, ARGUMENTS BOTH FOR AND AGAINST OUR SUBSTANTIALLY INTERVENING IN THE CURRENT SHARP DEBATE IN THE FRG OVER RATIFICATION OF THE PENSION AGREEMENT NEGOTIATED BY SCHMIDT AND GIEREK AT HELSINKI. WARSAW'S REFTEL HAS CONVEYED THIS ARGUMENT.

2. HOWEVER, WE DO NOT BELIEVE THAT WE SHOULD WEIGH IN HEAVILY WITH THE CDU/CSU, BECAUSE IT MAY NOT WORK AND COULD CAUSE AN ADVERSE REACTION HERE. MOST OF THE CDU/
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CSU LAENDER DELEGATIONS TO THE BUNDESRAT ARE NOW COMMIT-

TED TO TURNING DOWN THE POLISH AGREEMENTS AS THEY STAND. THEIR VIEWS ARE A MATTER OF PUBLIC RECORD. BUNDESRAT APPROVAL OF THE POLISH PENSION AGREEMENT WOULD REQUIRE THE AFFIRMATIVE VOTES OF THE SAARLAND AND LOWER SAXONY. THE DECISION OF THESE TWO LAENDER CABINETS WILL BE THE PRODUCT OF INTERNAL POLITICAL PRESSURES (E.G., DEPENDENCE ON "PASSIVE" FDP SUPPORT) AS WELL AS THE PERSONAL VIEWS OF THE CDU LAENDER LEADERSHIP. MOREOVER, IF US INTERVENTION WERE TO BE SUCCESSFUL, IT WOULD BE IN THE POLITICAL INTERESTS OF THE CDU MINISTER-PRESIDENTS IN LOWER LAXONY AND SAARLAND, WHO IN SUPPORTING THE AGREEMENT WOULD BE ACTING AGAINST STRONG SENTIMENT IN THE CDU/CSU, TO LET THE WORD GET OUT THAT THEY WERE ACTING UNDER "PRESSURE" FROM THE US GOVERNMENT. THEN DETENTE WOULD TEND TO BECOME A US POLICY HERE, RATHER THAN A GERMAN POLICY.

3. IN ADDITION, WE CANNOT ESCAPE THE FACT THAT PRESSURE BY US IN THIS ACRIMONIOUS INTERNAL GERMAN DEBATE WOULD ANGER A SIGNIFICANT GROUP OF POTENTIAL OR ACTUAL GERMAN POLICY MAKERS. AS WE POINTED OUT ABOVE, IT IS CERTAIN, GIVEN THE NATURE OF GERMAN POLITICAL LIFE, THAT OUR INTERVENTION WOULD EVENTUALLY BECOME PUBLIC KNOWLEDGE. CDU/CSU CHANCELLOR CANDIDATE KOHL AND HIS STAFF HAVE ON A NUMBER OF OCCASIONS EXPRESSED THEIR FEAR TO EMBASSY OFFICERS THAT US GOVERNMENT OFFICIALS OR POLITICIANS MIGHT MAKE STATEMENTS THAT WOULD DAMAGE THE CDU/CSU AND HELP THE GOVERNMENT COALITION PARTIES IN THE BUNDESTAG CAMPAIGN. THEIR FEAR IS BASED ON THE BELIEF, RIGHTLY OR WRONGLY, THAT STATEMENTS BY US OFFICIALS IN THE 1972 BUNDESTAG OFFICIAL AND POLITICIANS HURT THE OPPOSITION PARTIES IN THE 1972 BUNDESTAG CAMPAIGN. ASIDE FROM THE POTENTIAL FOR ALIENATING AN IMPORTANT SEGMENT OF GERMAN POLITICAL SENTIMENT, ALL GOOD FRIENDS OF THE US, THE POSSIBILITY EXISTS THAT THE CDU/CSU WILL TAKE OVER THE REIGNS OF GOVERNMENT AFTER THE OCTOBER 3 ELECTIONS. IF THEY DO NOT COME TO POWER BECAUSE OF SPD CHARGES THAT WE ARE OPPOSED TO CDU/CSU VIEWS ON DETENTE, WE WILL NOT HAVE DONE EITHER OURSELVES OR THE INTERNAL POLITICAL PROCESS

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HERE A SERVICE.

4. THE ISSUE COULD BECOME LESS CRITICAL IF THE BUNDESRAT DECISION ON THE POLISH PENSION AGREEMENT WERE TO BE POSTPONED UNTIL AFTER THE OCTOBER 3 ELECTIONS. THERE ARE SOME MEMBERS OF THE OPPOSITION WHO FAVOR THIS OPTION, WHICH IS NOW OPEN TO THE CDU/CSU AS A RESULT OF THE CHANGE OF GOVERNMENT IN LOWER SAXONY. IT IS NOT CLEAR,

HOWEVER, THAT THE OPPOSITION LEADERSHIP WILL DECIDE TO
SEEK POSTPONEMENT, BECAUSE OTHER IMPORTANT CDU

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C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 02 OF 02 BONN 02601

LIMDIS

POLITICIANS PREFER THAT THE CDU/CSU MAJORITY IN THE
BUNDESRAT VETO THE AGREEMENT AS QUICKLY AS POSSIBLE.
ONE PROPONENT OF A SPEEDY ACTION IS MINISTER-PRESIDENT
FILBINGER, WHO WANTS A BUNDESRAT VETO BEFORE THE
ELECTIONS IN BADEN-WUERTTEMBERG ON APRIL 4.

5. THE POLITICAL DYNAMICS OF THE GERMAN INTERNAL DEBATE
ON THESE AGREEMENTS ARE COMPLICATED AND TENSE. MANY
MEMBERS OF THE SPD REGARD THE POLISH AGREEMENTS AS A GOAL
TO BE ACHIEVED. OTHERS REGARD THEM AS AN INSTRUMENT
WITH WHICH THE CDU CAN BE BADLY SPLIT OR CAN BE
PILLORIED IF IT SHOULD SCUTTLE THE ACCORDS (OF COURSE,
THESE TWO CATEGORIES ARE NOT MUTUALLY EXCLUSIVE). ONE
WING OF THE CDU IS STRONGLY OPPOSED TO THE ACCORDS.
ANOTHER WING FEELS THAT IT MUST OPPOSE THEM FOR
IDEOLOGICAL AND POLITICAL REASONS BUT WOULD PREFER NOT
TO BE RESPONSIBLE FOR DESTROYING DETENTE WITH POLAND. WE
CAN NOT FORETELL THE FALLOUT ON ATTITUDES TOWARD US IF
WE STEP INTO THIS PARTICULAR MAELSTROM, BUT WE WOULD
HAVE TO BE PREPARED TO SERVE AS WHIPPING BOY FOR VARIOUS

FACTIONS FOR SOME TIME.

6. ASSURANCES FROM GIEREK ABOUT THE TREATMENT OF ETHNIC
GERMANS WHO REMAIN IN POLAND AND POSSIBLE FUTURE
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EMIGRATION WOULD HELP MEET SOME OF THE OPPOSITION'S
OBJECTIONS TO THE AGREEMENTS. SUCH ASSURANCES HAVE
BEEN REQUESTED BY SEVERAL CDU FIGURES WHO ARE LOOKING
FOR A POLISH PEG ON WHICH TO HANG RATIFICATION, BUT PRESS
REPORTS HERE SAY THAT THE POLISH GOVERNMENT HAS DECLINED
THE REQUESTS. EMBASSY WARSAW IS IN A BETTER POSITION
TO JUDGE WHETHER WE CAN MAKE SUCH A REQUEST TO GIEREK
OURSELVES, BUT WE WOULD HOPE THAT ANYTHING WE MIGHT DO
HERE WILL BE MATCHED BY AN EFFORT ALONG THESE LINES
IN WARSAW SO THAT ANY US ACTION COULD BE CHARACTERIZED
AS IMPARTIAL BROKERAGE RATHER THAN UNILATERAL PRESSURES.
HOWEVER, WE MUST RECOGNIZE THAT WE RUN THE RISK OF HAVING
ONLY ONE PARTY COMPLY WITH OUR REQUEST AND BEING EVEN
MORE RESENTFUL IF THE OTHER DOES NOT.

7. IT IS CLEAR THAT STRONG INTERVENTION ON THE PART OF
THE USG TO OBTAIN PASSAGE OF THE POLISH PENSION AGREEMENT
IN THE BUNDESRAT COULD CAUSE AN ADVERSE REACTION IN THE
FEDERAL REPUBLIC. HOWEVER, IF A LOW-KEY APPROACH IS
DESIRED, THE SCHEDULED MEETING (STATE 30649) OF
COUNSELOR SONNENFELDT AND CDU/CSU CHANCELLOR CANDIDATE
KOHL AT 12:30 ON FEBRUARY 20 WOULD PROVIDE AN
OPPORTUNITY TO DO SO.
HILLENBRAND

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